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(10)

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E1-ED

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NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-07 HA-06 TRSE-00 PC-01
OCT-02 SY-05 SYE-00 EB-08 /121 W
----------050459 050618Z /12

O R 042850Z NOV 80 (CCY TEXT AD049631)
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR.
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1816
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF
DIA WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC

El Salvador

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 SAN SALVADOR 7724

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TO READ 6 SECTIONS VICE 5)

ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/3/86 (MILLSPAUGH, ROBERT) OR-P
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM ES
SUBJECT (C) EL SALVADOR, ONE YEAR AFTER THE COUP

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

MEANWHILE, SOME MAJOR REFORMS WHICH MIGHT ESTABLISH A

THE MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES FORM THE SEVEREST TEST FOR THE JRG'S POLICY OF REVOLUTION WITHOUT INSTITUTIONAL DESTRUCTION. THEIR SUPPORT IS NECESSARY TO THE JRG, AND THEY HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN THE PAST YEAR, BUT THEY CONTINUE TO HUNT DOWN AND KILL SUSPECTED LEFTIST SUBVERSIVES, OFTEN ON THE BASIS OF FLIMSY EVIDENCE. VIOLENCE ORIGINATES FROM NEARLY ALL SIDES AND MANY CAUSES IN EL SALVADOR. THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO TAKE STRONG ACTION AGAINST THE VIOLENCE WHICH COMES FROM WITHIN ITS RANKS IS ITS WEAKEST POINT.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR .
REVIEWED BY HD DATE 8 JUL 1982
PORTIONS DENIED AS INDICATED

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L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-07 HA-06 INSE-00 PC-01
OCT-02 SY-05 STE-00 EB-08 /121 W

050505 050621Z /11/6P

O R 042058Z NOV 79
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF
DIA WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 06 SAN SALVADOR 7724

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (SECTION 2 OF 6 VICE 2 OF 5)

3. THE JRG. ON OCTOBER 15, 1979 PROGRESSIVE ARMY OFFICERS OVERTHREW THE ROMERO REGIME AND REPLACED IT WITH A COALITION GOVERNMENT HEADED BY A FIVE MAN JUNTA. FRUSTRATED BY ITS INABILITY TO BRING ABOUT IMMEDIATE CHANGE OR TO END THE RIGHTIST VIOLENCE PARTICIPATED IN BY THE SECURITY FORCES AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, THE ARMY, THE CIVILIAN MEMBERS OF THE CABINET AND JUNTA RESIGNED AFTER TWO AND A HALF MONTHS IN OFFICE. THE ARMED FORCES THEN REACHED AN AGREEMENT WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT.

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4. NATIONAL. WITHOUT QUESTION, THE GREATEST ACCOMPLISHMENT OF JRG NUMBER TWO HAS BEEN SURVIVAL. THE FACT OF ITS EXISTENCE HAS RELIEVED THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE'S PAINFUL NECESSITY FOR CHOOSING BETWEEN A FANATIC RIGHT AND A RADICALIZED LEFT. EARLY IN ITS TERM, THE CURRENT VERSION OF THE JRG DECREED AND IMPLEMENTED THREE IMPORTANT REFORMS --THE 263 LARGEST FARMS IN THE COUNTRY WERE TURNED INTO COOPERATIVES; THE BANKS WERE NATIONALIZED; AND THE GOVERNMENT TOOK CONTROL OF THE MARKETING APPARATUS FOR THE MAJOR EXPORT CROPS. THE EFFECT OF THESE REFORMS WAS TO DIMINISH GREATLY THE POWER OF THE OLIGARCHY, THE OLD RULING CLASS COMPOSED OF THE LARGE LANDOWNERS WITH INTERESTS IN BANKING, MILLING, SHIPPING AND INSURANCE.

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DCT-02 SY-05 SYE-00 EB-08 /121 W
----------050537 050631Z /11/68

O R 042050Z NOV 80
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR -
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1818
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PAN//INTAFF
DIA WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 06 SAN SALVADOR 7724

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (SECTION 3 OF 6 VICE 3 OF 5)

9. MILITARY/SECURITY FORCES. THE MILITARY AND PARTICULARLY THE SECURITY FORCES (THE NATIONAL GUARD, NATIONAL POLICE, AND TREASURY POLICE) REPRESENT THE SEVEREST TEST FOR THE JRG'S POLICY OF GUIDED REVOLUTION WITHOUT INSTITUTIONAL DESTRUCTION. PLAINLY PUT, THE MILITARY HAVE THE POWER; NO GOVERNMENT CAN EXIST WITHOUT THEIR APPROVAL. A YEAR AGO, THE SECURITY FORCES, AND TO A LESSER EXTENT THE ARMY, WERE A LAW UNTO THEMSELVES, HOLDING LIFE OR DEATH POWER OVER ALMOST EVERYONE AND EXERCISING IT AT WILL. HUNDREDS OF THE WORST OFFENDERS WERE RETIRED AFTER THE COUP, AND DISCIPLINARY MEASURES HAVE BEEN HANDED OUT LIBERALLY SINCE THEN. IN RETROSPECT, IT IS SURPRISING HOW FAR THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE COME SINCE THE ROMERO DAYS.

10. BUT THE PRICE FOR THE MILITARY'S POLITICAL SUPPORT OF THE JRG HAS BEEN HIGH. MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY CORPS AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, OF THE ARMY HAVE CONTINUED TO HUNT DOWN AND KILL SUSPECTED LEFTIST SUBVERSIVES, OFTEN ON THE BASIS OF FLIMSY EVIDENCE. IT IS WIDELY BELIEVED IN EL SALVADOR THAT THE NUMBER OF DEATHS FROM SUCH ACTIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR IS AT LEAST IN THE HUNDREDS, BUT THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE HAS R YET TO PUNISH PUBLICLY ANYONE, CIVILIAN OR MILITARY, FOR KILLING A LEFTIST. IT DOES APPEAR, HOWEVER, THAT EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO NARROW THE DEFINITION OF THE TERM "SUBVERSIVE" TO INCLUDE ONLY SUSPECTED MEMBERS OF GROUPS WHICH USE VIOLENCE TO POOSE THE GOVERNMENT. SINCE THE COUP, ATTACKS AGAINST

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OCT-02 SY-05 SYE-00 ER-00 /121 W
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O R 042050Z NOV 88
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1019
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 06 SAN SALVADOR 7724

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (SECTION 4 OF 6 VICE 4 OF 5)

POLITICIANS, LABOR AND CAMPESINO LEADER, AND TEACHERS WHO ARE EITHER PRO-GOVERNMENT OR NEUTRAL, AND "RESPECTABLE" LEFTISTS, SUCH AS THE SOCIALISTS, HAVE DROPPED SHARPLY. THE JRG'S RECENT ORDER TO THE MILITARY TO END HUMAN RIGHT ABUSES IS A STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF CHANGING THE MENTALITY OF THE MILITARY/ SECURITY FORCES, BUT ITS PRACTICAL EFFECT HAS YET TO BE SEEN.

11. THE VIOLENCE. THE SECURITY CORPS HAVE NO MONOPOLY ON VIOLENCE, OF COURSE. EL SALVADOR WAS A VIOLENT COUNTRY LONG BEFORE A WHOLE SPECTRUM OF GROUPS TURNED TO KILLING AS A ROUTE TO POLVHICAL POWER. WHAT IS GOING TO NOW, BEYOND POLITICAL WARFARE, IS A WAVE OF OELINQUENCY, A WAR BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS, A CLASS STRUGGLE, AND AN UPSURGE IN IDOLOGICAL FANATICISM ALL JUMBLED TOGHETHER. THE LEFT KILLS TO MAINTAIN ITS DISCIPLINE, TO ELIMINATE IS ATAGONISTS, TO KEEP ITS WOUNDED OUT OF THE HANOS OF THE ENEMY, TO STIMULATE RECRUITMENT, AND TO DEMONSTRATE REVOLUTIONARY FERVOR. THE RIGHT KILLS TO SAVE THE SOCIETY FROM THE "ABSOLUTE EVEIL" OF COMMUNISM, TO PROTECT ECONOMIC INTERESTS, TO AVENGE ITS DEAD COMRADES, AND TO ASSURE THE SELF PRESERVATION OF THE MILITARY AND THE MIDDLE CLASS. THE CHOICE OF VICTIMS ON EITHER SIDE APPEARS TO DEPEND MORE ON CONVENIENCE THAN LOGIC.

12. RIGHTIST VIOLENCE PROBABLY ORIGINATES FROM THREE GROUPS-- PRIVATE PERSONS, SOME OF WHOM WERE ORDEN MEMBERS; THE LOCAL COMANDANTE'S FORCE; AND SOME MID-LEVEL MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY AND SECURITY CORPS. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ASSIGN PROPORTIONS AMONG THESE THREE, BUT THE TOTAL OF THEIR VICTIMS IS RISING. ACCORDING TO SOME REPORTS, ORDEN INCREASED ITS ACTIVITIES IN AUGUST AFTER ARMED LEFTISTS TOOK OVER A FEW VILLAGES AND PUBLICLY EXECUTED FORMER ORDEN MEMBERS.

13. THE FAILURE TO TAKE STRONG ACTION AGAINST THE VIOLENCE WHICH COMES FROM WITHIN ITS RANKS IS THE ACHILLES' HEEL OF THE JRG. REASONS USUALLY GIVEN FOR THIS FAILURE ARE THAT IN THE MIDST OF THE VICIOUS AND BRUTAL STRUGGLE WAGED BY THE LEFT, THE MILITARY WILL NOT ACT AGAINST THOSE WHO ARE KILLING ITS ENEMIES LEST A PANDORA'S BOX OF ACCUSATIONS BE OPENED. THE STRUGGLE GOING ON IN EL SALVADOR IS A BITTER ONE-- NO QUARTER IS GIVEN OR ASKED--AND THERE IS VERY LITTLE POSSIBILITY OF COMPROMISE. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THIS COUNTRY TAKE A BACK SEAT TO SURVIVAL. THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, AN ARDENT LEFTIST PARTISAN IN THE FIGHT, HAS LOST TWO OF ITS OWN MEMBERS IN RECENT WEEKS.

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OCT-02 SY-05 SYE-00 EB-08 /121 W
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O R 042050Z NOV 80
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1020
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NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10
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OCT-02 SY-05 SYE-00 EB-03 /121 W
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O R 042050Z NOV 80
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